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THE CHURCH IN HISPANIC AMERICA FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

Reverend Roderick P. Wheeler, O.F.M., Ph.D.

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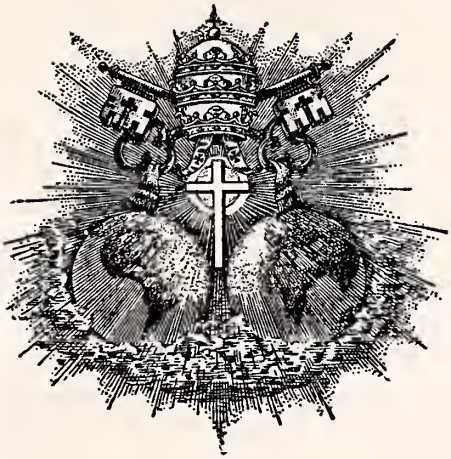

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH

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Rev. Roderick Paul Wheeler, O.F.M., was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, December 10, 1907. He studied at St. Joseph's Seraphic Seminary at Callicoon, New York, and entered the novitiate of the Franciscan Order at Paterson, New Jersey, in 1927. After completing courses in philosophy and theology, he was ordained at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D. C., June 12, 1934. After graduate work in Hispanic American History he received his doctorate from the University of Madrid, Spain, and engaged in research in mission history at the Archives of Madrid, Seville and Lisbon. Upon returning to the United States he was appointed Associate Professor of History at St. Bonaventure College, N. Y. Father Wheeler was appointed Director of the recently established Academy of American Franciscan History at Washington, D. C., and Managing Editor of THE AMERICAS, a quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History.

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The authors of the various studies of the Missionary Academia express their own views which are necessarily independent of the National Council of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

THE CHURCH IN HISPANIC AMERICA FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

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I

THE CHURCH AT THE END OF THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

The Church emerged from the long period of the Wars for Independence everywhere in a strong position. Nowhere was her doctrine questioned. If, in many places, the wars had taken on the character of civil wars, there had yet been no division on religious grounds. "Not only was religion not a cause of the Revolution," states the historian Mecham, "but rebellion against the Church at that time was unthinkable." Both sides, Royalists and Patriots, claimed to be faithful sons of Mother Church, and paid homage and obedience to her. True, some of the clergy opposed Independence. These were nearly all among the higher clergy, Spaniards, who took this position although knowing that it would be at the risk of their lives as well as of their popularity and property, but in the honest conviction that they owed allegiance to him whom they considered their rightful sovereign, and that the underlying philosophy of the Revolution had emanated from the French Revolution and constituted a great danger to the best interests of the Church.

However, the overwhelming majority of the clergy, both secular and religious, and including many of the outstanding prelates as well, especially those of the "creole" class (i.e., whites born in the Americas) and the "mestizos" (of mixed white and Indian blood), threw their influence, possessions, and even their lives on the side of freedom. Everywhere in Latin America the clergy took a leading part in the fight for Independence. In the first phases of Mexican independence the leaders were two priests, Father Miguel Hidalgo and Father José María Morelos, and the final achievement of independence came when the entire weight of the Church was given in suport of Iturbide. The great historian of the Church in Mexico, Mariano Cuevas, S.J., estimates that 6,000 of the total 8,000 clergy in Mexico favored Independence. Very incomplete statistics show that some 129 priests actually fought in the wars, leading bodies of troops, and some were captured and executed by the Royalists.

On Freedom's Side

In all parts of South America priests threw in their lot with their people fighting for freedom. In Venezuela, there was Cortés Madariaga. In Colombia, 95 priests were exiled because of their cooperation with the patriots; and the Archbishop of Bogotá strongly protested against the tyranny of the Spanish Royalist general, while the Cathedral authorities donated part of their funds to the patriots' treasury, and the Franciscan Order publicly defended the justice of the cause of Independence. In Peru, Bishop Chávez de la Rosa and Father Luna Pizarro advocated freedom, and Archbishop Las Hevas of Lima signed the Declaration of Independence. In Uruguay, the Spanish authorities admitted that nearly all the clergy had joined and even led the revolutionary movement, and the whole community of Franciscans was expelled from Montevideo for having preached independence. Across the La Plata estuary, in Argentina, both people and clergy were unanimous in their struggle for freedom. The Bishop of Buenos Aires and his priests attended the first meeting of the patriots, and openly declared for independence. Outstanding work was done by the famous Dean of Buenos Aires, Gregorio Funes, and by the Dominican friar, Justo Santa María de Oro. The part played by the bishops and priests at the Congress of Tucumán was decisive in establishing a free and democratic Argentine Republic. In Chile, the Bishop of Concepción, Andre y Guerrero encouraged the patriot troops. In Bolivia, the revolutionary movement at La Paz was led by a priest, José Medina.

Respect for the Church

Conclusive proof that the Latin American revolts against Spain were not in any sense attacks on the Church, are found in the words and deeds of the great generals and statesmen of the emancipation, who unanimously declared their adherence to and protection of the rights and privileges of the Church. The Mexican leaders, Hidalgo, Morelos and Iturbide acknowledged the Catholic religion to be that of the nation, and pledged themselves to defend it against the irreligious measures of the Spanish authorities. Arigas in Uruguay and Moreno in Argentina reverenced the doctrines of the Church and respected her rightful authority in spiritual matters and appreciated her cooperation for the benefit of the nation. Belgrano, the Argentine military hero, was a fervent Catholic, who daily recited the

Rosary with his troops in the dark days of the wars. He wrote a remarkable letter to the man who was to become the national idol of Argentina, San Martín. "Do not cease to implore Our Lady . . . and name her *generala* of the armies. . . . Act like a Christian general." San Martín followed this sage advice, and had the chaplains attached to his armies celebrate field-masses for the troops. In fact, it was the engineering genius of a Franciscan lay-brother, Fray Luís Beltrán, which made it possible for the men and cannons of San Martín to scale the Andes and accomplish the freedom of Chile and Peru. Although the "Liberator," Simón Bolívar, was only a nominal Catholic at the beginning of the Wars of Independence, he always most scrupulously respected the Catholic Church in all his dealings and plans. And as he grew in experience and maturity to become the greatest statesman of the whole period of Independence, he returned to a sincere profession and practice of his faith and a deep realization of the need of the great moral and cultural forces of the Church for the building of the great nations which he planned and dreamed.

It is therefore evident that none of the great leaders of Spanish-American Independence were antagonistic to the Church, but that rather they were its firmest supporters. The same conditions prevailed in the case of Brazilian independence from Portugal. The abortive revolt of 1817 at Pernambuco was inspired by the teachings of Bishop Azevedo Coutinho, founder of the Seminary of Olinda, and fifty-seven priests were imprisoned when this premature revolt failed. The Brazilian hierarchy led the people in urging and demanding that the young Don Pedro declare for independence. The honor of being the first one to proclaim Don Pedro as king of Brazil belongs to one of the clerics of his retinue. As ruler, Pedro had the advantage of the advice and adherence of the Brazilian clergy, and the privileged position of the Church remained unchanged under the new Empire. The first Constitutional Assembly met at Rio de Janeiro, April 17, 1823, under the presidency of Bishop José Caetano da Silva Coutinho, and fifteen members of the clergy took part in the deliberations.

An impartial survey of the position of the Catholic Church in Latin America at the close of the wars of independence leads us to the conclusion that throughout the struggle there was no conflict on the grounds of religion, nor did any of the patriot-leaders attack the Church. What criticism there was of ecclesiastical nature was di-

rected chiefly against the Inquisition as an out-moded and improper institution, which had been used by Spanish authorities as a weapon against the advocates of freedom. The patriotic attitude of the vast majority of the clergy during the long and devastating wars everywhere contributed to the result that the Church emerged from this period with unquestioned religious and moral authority, with all of the new nations declaring that Catholicism was in law, as in fact, the sole religion of the new nations.

Misunderstandings

However, in spite of the desire and sincere efforts of the leaders of Independence to retain and continue the Catholic religion in the new Republics, the Church was entering a long period of misunderstandings, conflicts and even persecutions in many of these countries to whose independence she had so generously contributed. The wise voices of Bolívar and San Martín were submerged in the turmoil of a multitude of lesser men, local politicians, ambitious but without vision or ability, who fought for control in all parts of Latin America almost immediately after Independence from Spain had been won. Bolívar was forced out and died on his way into exile, bitterly regretting the turn of affairs that threatened to undo all his efforts toward the establishment of strong, orderly and united nations. San Martín was likewise forced to go into exile, and some of the heroes of the Revolution were even assassinated. Then began a long period of strained Church-relations with the new governments in most Latin American countries, which have been perpetuated in some countries even down to the present.

The wars had lasted from 1810 to 1825, and by this time many of the hierarchy had died and many of the Spanish-born bishops and clergy had been expelled. No new bishops had been appointed by the Holy See, and due to lack of communications with Rome, the clergy and people were for a long time without shepherds. It is easily imagined how this lamentable state of affairs affected the work of the Church in these countries. Seminaries failed, no priests were ordained to carry on the life of the Church, countless regions were left without priests and the Sacraments, instruction and guidance were lacking, and the great mission-system of former times languished or was completely abandoned.

The great problem that faced the Church in Latin America was the restoration of the necessary relations with the Holy See, so that vacant Sees could be filled and the orderly life of the Church restored.

The Government and the Papacy

The necessary and urgently required restoration of the Latin American hierarchy, however, although universally petitioned by the new republican governments, posed an extremely delicate problem for the papacy. The Spanish king asserted that he continued to possess the right of appointment of these bishops because of his privilege of the *Real Patronado.* This was the privilege which Pope Julius II granted to the monarchs of Spain in reward for their great services to the Church in the work of the conversion of the New World, whereby the Spanish kings could appoint all bishops and fill all ecclesiastical benefices, subject to final confirmation by the Pope; this power was extended to include the collection of the church-tithes, the appointment of the superiors of religious orders, and parish priests, the erection and boundaries of new dioceses, the founding of all ecclesiastical, educational and charitable institutions of the Church, and later in practice even claimed supervision over the communications between the hierarchy and the Holy See. Many favorable results had been reaped by the Church in the Americas under this system as long as the Spanish kings earnestly fulfilled their corresponding duty of supporting the work of the Church throughout the Spanish dominions. But the papacy never once conceded that the Spanish Crown possessed the Patronado as a *right,* but only as a privilege that had been freely granted by the Holy See. And as the Spanish government during the eighteenth century had been more and more affected by the regalistic, irreligious and materialistic tendencies of the French Bourbons, the Holy See was anxious to seize this opportunity to resume the powers that had been temporarily allowed to Spain and to reassert its legitimate spiritual authority over the Church in Latin America, by freely and without constraint from any government appointing the new bishops for the newly independent countries. Despite the efforts of Leo XII, Spain refused to acknowledge that the *Real Patronado* had lapsed, and claimed that any appointment of bishops for the new countries independently by the pope would be tantamount to an act of hostility toward Spain. The mem-

bers of the so-called "Holy Alliance" supported Spain in this attitude. This placed the pope in a most embarrassing position, as he was reluctant to take sides in the quarrel between the mother-country and her former colonies. This obstacle prevented the appointment of the new bishops for some years, until there was scarcely a single surviving bishop in all Latin America.

But the position of the Spanish Crown was not the only obstacle, nor the most lasting one in the way of establishing proper relations between the Vicar of Christ and his children of the New World. The new governments of Latin America hastened to claim that they were in all justice heirs to all the sovereign rights that had been formerly exercised by the Spanish government, and among these they claimed to possess in its entirety the right of the Patronado, and this they often extended much further than had the Spanish kings.

No Peace Yet

To add to the confusion, many of these new governments were composed of men who now began to show very evident signs of wishing to make the Church wholly subservient to their own political purposes. They claimed the right of control over the administration of the Church, while at the same time they were themselves, in some cases, openly non-Catholic or even atheistic, vowed to the destruction of the Church. Truly, the long wars of the Revolution had brought Latin America independence from Spain, but not the enjoyment of peace. Civil wars raged for many years, tyrannical dictators arose and during their period of power brought new griefs to their nations and to the Church. Conflicts were inevitable when the bishops could not in conscience agree to allow the Church to become a mere tool of these ambitious men's whims and a victim of their despoilments. Usually, the bishops who opposed such anti-Catholic governments were forced into exile, with the property of their dioceses and charitable and educational institutions confiscated, and religious orders expelled and suppressed. The "sovereign" people, in whose name these injustices were perpetrated never benefited thereby, and somehow or other the properties and the proceeds were dissipated without the nation receiving any profit, but only the loss of its schools, hospitals and other institutions of public welfare that had been supported by these properties of the Church.

In most countries there arose various political parties which, whatever their local names might be, were inspired with the anti-Christian principles of deistic philosophy that were prevalent at the period. All called themselves "Liberals," however much their actions belied their name. Freemasonry, of the most fanatical European type, played a prominent part in an ever-increasing series of attacks on the Church, the heirarchy and clergy, ecclesiastical institutions, religious orders, and the faithful practicing Catholics. The program of the "Liberals" was often clearly stated as the complete extirpation of the Catholic Church from nations whose people had for centuries been profoundly Catholic. This program paralleled and was influenced by similar conditions then prevailing in most of Europe during the course of the nineteenth century. Many people were deceived by clever Liberal propaganda into thinking that if the Church were repressed and its properties "nationalized," there would dawn a new era of progress and prosperity to rival that of the United States and England. The actual result, however, was only national disunity, civil strife, wars and consequent impoverishment and cultural and moral decadence.

This century of almost continual conflict weakened the powers of resistance of the masses of the people, who despite all the efforts and propaganda of the Liberals and anti-clericals still clung to at least the essentials of the Faith. But Catholics were unable to produce sufficient and competent leaders, and in the absence of Catholic schools and seminaries, there was a scarcity of vocations for the priesthood, nor sufficient training for what few candidates there were. This often resulted in a state of religious apathy or indifference.

According to Dr. Magner (*Latin American Pattern*) some of the leading figures in the war against the Church were: José Rodríguez Francia, who was absolute ruler of Paraguay from 1814 to 1840; José Hilario López, President of Colombia, 1849-1852; Tomás Mosquera, President of Colombia, 1861-1867; Benito Juárez, President of Mexico, 1858-1872; Antonio Guzmán Blanco, president and dictator of Venezuela, 1870-1889; Justo R. Barrios, president of Guatemala, 1873-1885; José Manuel Balmaceda, president of Chile, 1886-1891; and Plutarco Elías Calles, president and political boss of Mexico from 1924 to 1934.

Catholic opposition to the Liberals' attacks on the Church usually resulted in the formation of the so-called "Conservative" parties, which produced a number of brave and energetic defenders of the best interests of their countries and of their Faith. One of the most notable men of this type was Gabriel García Moreno, who was president of Ecuador from 1861-1865 and 1869-1875.

Pope's Concern

During all this period the Holy See had constantly shown its great concern for the Church in Latin American countries. The Holy Father had introduced many important measures, such as the establishment of the Pio-Latino Seminary at Rome for the education of candidates for the priesthood from all the Latin-American countries. The numerous clergy who had been trained there returned to their home-lands to accomplish great things for the Faith. In 1899, the Pope summoned the great Plenary Council of the Latin American hierarchy, which met in Rome. The immense benefits of the consultation and decisions of this Council may be considered a turning point in the internal administration of the Church and the improvement of religious conditions in all the Latin American dioceses.

The General Superiors of all the Orders and Congregations whose members worked in Latin America took steps at this same time for the improvement and efficiency of their efforts. New priests and religious were sent as missionaries and some of the old provinces that had so distinguished themselves during the Colonial Mission period were now restored and new ones established.* Those of the old missions, specially those of the Indian regions of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela, which had somehow managed to survive through the long decades of exile and neglect, received new missionaries and material support from Europe, and in more recent times from the United States and Canada. Such has been their success that a number of new dioceses, Apostolic Vicariates and Prefectures have been canonically formed. Great interest has been aroused in the United States, and American priests, Brothers and Sisters are now

* Cf. *Catholic Mission History,* by Rev. Joseph Schmidlin, English translation by Rev. Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Mission Press, Techny, Ill., 1933), pp. 674-685.

working side by side with their brethren of Latin America. Recent statistics, compiled by the Catholic Students Mission Crusade, give the following figures for United States missionaries in Latin America:

Central America: 106
Mexico: 5 (incomplete)
South America: 256
West Indies: 478

II

DEVELOPMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1. ARGENTINA

For twenty-two years after Independence, Buenos Aires had no Bishop, and the Church soon became the object of attack. From 1820 to 1827, the great Argentine statesman, Rivadavia, imprudently tried to introduce various regalistic measures by which he intended to bring the administration of the Church completely under governmental control, even to the extent of attempting to establish a national church. It was not until 1834 that a Bishop was finally allowed to occupy the See of Buenos Aires, due to differences over the *patronado.*

During the dictatorship of Juan Manuel Rosas (1835-1852) the rights of the Church were at first respected, but soon Rosas showed that he aimed to make the Church in Argentina an instrument of his will—in fact, under Rosas' regime the *patronado* was not national but personal to him.

When Rosas was overthrown by Urquiza, the government was completely reorganized, and a new Constitution was adopted. This was principally the work of the noted Juan Bautista Alberdi, and with few modifications it has endured to the present. It states that "the Federal government supports the Roman Catholic Church," and in other articles it claims most of the privileges of the old *patronado,* and requires the president and vice-president be Catholics. Complete freedom there has always been argument as to whether or not this Constitution makes the Catholic Church the State Church of Argentina. Although a few such disputes have arisen, mostly concerned about the appointment of bishops, the relations between the Holy See and the Argentine Government have been very cordial. An Apostolic Delegate resides at Buenos Aires and Argentina has sent many of her foremost statesmen as her diplomatic representatives at the Vatican. Argentina has never relinquished her claim to the *patronado,* nor has the Church ever formally recognized its existence; but every case has been worked out to the satisfaction of all.

At present, there are one Cardinal (the Archbishop of Buenos Aires), six other Archbishops and fifteen Bishops.

The status of the Church in Argentina today seems very encouraging, showing a vitality in every phase of the national life. The Sacraments are frequented, by men as well as women; and this was no doubt stimulated by the great International Eucharistic Congress held at Buenos Aires in 1934. There is a large and well-organized Catholic Action, and many other affiliated groups of laymen for spiritual, charitable, social and cultural purposes. The Catholic press is modern and alert and is widely read and influential.

2. URUGUAY

Uruguay, the smallest of the South American countries, achieved independence in 1828, as a buffer state between her big neighbors, Argentina and Brazil. In 1830 Uruguay adopted a Constitution similar to that of Argentina, wherein the Catholic Church was declared to be the religion of the nation. This Constitution was in effect until 1919. The government also laid claim to the rights of the *patronado.* The national leaders were all Catholics in the early days of the republic and no conflict arose between Church and State, despite much civil strife between parties, until 1848, when the needed appointment of a new Vicar-General for Uruguay brought about complications because of the *patronado.* Various anti-clerical governments enacted legislation unfavorable to the Church during the 1850's, and in 1861 an open conflict was caused by the government's exiling of the Vicar-Apostolic, Jacinto Vera, for refusing to comply with the State's attempts to dominate the Church. He returned in 1863, without consulting the government, and practical independence of the Church from the State was enjoyed from that time. He became the first Bishop of Montevideo in 1878. However, there has always existed an anti-clerical tendency in Uruguayan politics. This reached its peak during the administrations of President José Batlle y Ordóñez (1903-1907; 1911-1915), who sought to impose an exaggerated program of anti-Catholic and even atheistic legislation. Despite some valuable contributions to the material progress of Uruguay, Batlle's efforts to destroy the Church and especially the Catholic school-system were completely unsuccessful. In fact, his measures have served to arouse the Catholic conscience of the nation, and Catholic life today is more solid and influential than ever before. The new Constitution of 1919 gives the Church about the same freedom of action as is enjoyed in the United States.

Uruguay has one Archbishop and two bishops. There is an Apostolic Delegate at Montevideo, and a Uruguayan diplomatic representative at the Vatican.

3. CHILE

The first Constitution, adopted in 1818, declared the Catholic religion to be "the sole and exclusive faith of the State of Chile. Its protection, conservation, purity and inviolability will be one of the duties of the chiefs of society who will never permit another public cult or doctrine contrary to that of Jesus Christ." The Chilean government also declared itself in possession of the rights of the *patronado* as it had been exercised by the Spanish kings. The first ruler of Chile after independence was Bernardo O'Higgins, who maintained relations with the Church that were for the most part cordial. He was forced by the militant royalism of the Spanish-born Bishop Rodríguez Zorrilla of Santiago to exile him to the interior, but only for a short time. An attempt to re-establish normal relations with the Holy See was made in 1824, but Monsignor Juan Muzi, the Apostolic Vicar sent to Chile by the Holy Father, had to leave without having accomplished his mission, because of the Chilean demand that the papacy recognize the State's right of national patronage. The Pope refused this, for this right was never once conceded to any government. It was most unfortunate that the Chilean government, under the Liberal president Ramón Freire, insisted on following a policy that at the same time insisted on the right of Church "patronage" and in practice enacted many anti-clerical measures. The departure of the papal vicar and its circumstances were called "a national disgrace" by Chileans who regretted the rejection of this opportunity to come to a much needed settlement of ecclesiastical affairs.

For many years after, political conditions in Chile were in a continual turmoil, until with the new Constitution of 1833 greater stability was secured and this Constitution remained in effect until 1925, a record excelling that of any other Latin American country. This constitution stated that the religion of Chile was Roman Catholic and prohibited the public exercise of any other. It also contained the familiar provisions claiming the right of patronage. The prohibition of non-Catholic religious services was never enforced, because of the large numbers of non-Catholic immigrants who came to Chile, and, Protestant schools were also permitted. This religious toleration,

however, was only made legal in 1865. Other such laws allowed civil marriage for non-Catholics, and non-Catholic cemeteries.

Liberal elements gained control of the government during the second administration of President Montt (1851-1856; 1857-1861), and under this and following administrations determined efforts were made against Catholic education and for separation of Church and State. The aged Archbishop of Santiago, Rafael Valentín Valdivieso, was a staunch defender of the rights of the Church against the interference of politicians claiming the right of exercising control over the Church through the national patronage. When the aged Primate died, the government attempted to force the consecration as Archbishop of Santiago of a priest whom they considered amenable to their control. When the Pope refused to accede to this, a prolonged conflict arose over the right of patronage. The Pope sent an Apostolic Delegate to study the matter at first-hand, and when he advised against the government's candidate, he was expelled from the country and official relations between Chile and the Vatican were thus broken off.

This was made the pretext for the Liberal government to put through a whole series of anti-clerical laws, such as recognition of only civil marriages and taking all cemeteries under the leadership of José Manuel Balmaceda, then Minister of the Interior, and later President. Balmaceda was an ex-seminarian who had lost his faith. In the face of the aroused opposition of the masses of the people, however, Balmaceda was unable to push through the desired law to separate Church and State. The vacant See of Santiago was filled in 1887, with the consecration of Archbishop Casanova; and he, and his successors, Archbishops González Eyzaguirre and Edwards Errázuriz, were veritable apostles of the Faith in Chile. A Synod was held and a National Eucharistic Congress celebrated with great popular fervor. Catholic education flourished with the founding of several hundred primary and secondary schools, a number of colleges and Seminaries and a Catholic University at Santiago. Catholic Social Action became very progressive and many Catholic labor-unions were established.

When the matter of separation of Church and State was again brought up by the Radical president Alessandri, it was done without bitterness or sectarian motives, and the clergy agreed that this move would under present circumstances be for the benefit of the Church, and the new Constitution of 1925 accomplished this separation to the

satisfaction of all. The Church in Chile has progressed under this system, no longer restricted nor irritated by political interference in its internal affairs, and with complete freedom of action to carry on its religious, educational and charitable work. The clergy, the product of fine, modern Seminaries, are alert, respected and influential, and the laity are ever closer to the Church and the Sacraments. There are three Archbishops, twelve Bishops, and two Apostolic Vicars. There is a Papal Nuncio at Santiago and a diplomatic representative of Chile at the Vatican.

4. PERU

Peru has, in many ways, been the most conservative of all the Latin American Republics, and especially is this true as regards the status of the relations between the State and Church in Peru from the days of Independence down to the present day. Peru, like Mexico, was the seat of a Spanish Viceroyal government, and was and is made up largely of Indian and mestizo population that was and is completely Catholic. Yet, Peru was the last country of South America to be liberated from Spanish rule, and then it was almost with reluctance. But, quite the opposite from the case of Mexico, relations with the Church have been intimate and cordial ever since Independence. The first laws of the Republic, proclaimed in 1821 under San Martín, declared that the "Apostolic Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the State"; and that the nation assumed the exercise of the *patronato*. The first Peruvian Congress met at Lima in 1822, under the presidency of Father Luna Pizarro, and with priests as twenty of the fifty-one delegates. One of the first problems of the new government was the legal status of the Church The new Constitution, proclaimed in 1823, provided that "the religion of the State is the Roman Catholic, to the exclusion of any other." But actually, Simón Bolívar ruled without constitutional restraint until the end of 1826. Bolívar secured the passage of a second Constitution for Peru in 1826, which introduced tolerance for non-Catholics, but proved very unpopular with the Peruvians. As soon as Bolívar retired from Peru to Bolivia, a third Constitution was enacted which prohibited the exercise of any non-Catholic cult. This article was retained in later Constitutions of 1834, 1856 and 1860, despite Liberal politicians' attempts to modify the prohibition. The Constitution of 1860 survived until 1920.

When the aged Bishop of Arequipa, José Sebastián Goyeneche died—(he was called the "Spiritual Father of America," because he became the sole surviving bishop for the ordination of priests)—formal relations with the Holy See were established by the institution by the Pope of the first Archbishop of Lima under the Republic. But the Pope pointedly omitted any recognitiion of the national right of patronage. In 1853 a Peruvian envoy was sent to negotiate a Concordat with the Holy See, with instructions to secure a clear recognition by the Pope of the national patronage. The mission was unsuccessful, but the Pope, in practice, appointed bishops to Peruvian sees from lists of candidates presented by the government, but always in terms that gave no recognition of the right of patronage.

Liberal governments attempted to enact anti-clerical legislation in 1856, but they only succeeded in abolishing church-tithes, and in 1859 this financial loss to the Church was made up by government payments for the Church prelates, seminaries, colleges, hospitals, etc. Despite legal penalties existing to prohibit any public non-Catholic religious service, these laws were not enforced, and in the latest Constitution of 1920 this prohibition was omitted, although one article states that "The Nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion, and the State protects it."

Pope Pius IX, by a Papal Brief in 1874, although refusing to recognize that the *patronado* was inherent in national sovereignty, granted to the President of Peru as a concession the right of patronage, "such as was enjoyed by grace of the Apostolic See, by the kings of Spain before Peru was separated from their authority . . ." and with the condition added that this privilege was a concession dependent on the continued protection of the Catholic religion in Peru. Since that time this Papal Bull has served as a *modus vivendi.* In fact, most of the privileges granted have fallen into disuse except the proposal of candidates for bishoprics and the demarcation of new dioceses.

The Church has enjoyed unmolested right of possession and administration of property. Catholic schools are supported, and religious education is an integral part of the public school curricula. The laws of the Church concerning marriage have been made a part of civil law, although civil marriage is legal for non-Catholics.

A Catholic University of Peru was established in 1919 and has achieved in the quarter-century of its existence a tremendous amount

of good in the training of solidly Catholic leadership in every field of modern life and culture. It consists of schools of Letters, Law, Economics, Engineering, Education, Normal Schools, and Business Administration, with an enrollment of over three thousand students. One of its great accomplishments has been the training of Christian teachers for all the schools of the Republic.

Catholic Action has only recently been organized in Peru, but the progress of its work is another symptom of the increasing seriousness in which Catholics are practicing their faith.

One of the chief problems has been the lack of sufficient Peruvian priests to care for all the religious needs of the country. Priests have come from abroad, especially those of religious orders from Spain, but efforts to increase the number of native vocations and to improve their training have begun to bear fruit and give great promise for the near future. This improvement was most important for the clergy caring for the people, largely of Indian stock, of the mountainous and forest regions of the interior. Four Apostolic Vicariates have been established for the mission-territory of the Oriente; these are cared for by the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans and Passionists, and their work has received encouragement and aid from the government.

There is a Papal Nuncio at Lima and a Peruvian Ambassador at the Vatican. Peru has four Archbishops, eight Bishops and four Apostolic Vicars.

5. BOLIVIA

This country, to which Bolívar, the "Liberator," gave his name, and first constitution—he being its first president—has had a tumultuous political existence. Presidents, dictators, civil and foreign wars and invasions, and a succession of new constitutions have kept the country in political chaos nearly all the time, and the effect of this upon the religious, moral and cultural progress of Bolivia has been most unfortunate. Even during intervals of peace, the Church has seldom had the opportunity to carry on her work without being hampered by the meddling of government officials in purely ecclesiastical affairs. Likewise, the impoverishment consequent upon wars and exploitation have deprived the Church and the faithful of the material means of establishing the necessary churches, missions, welfare institutions, schools, colleges and seminaries. In fact, the governments of the country have completely failed to provide for the minimum needs

of Bolivia, so that the moral and cultural level has fallen far below that which the country had achieved while still a Spanish dominion. And this is particularly true in regards to the material and spiritual condition of the very large Indian population, whose welfare was seldom of any concern to bickering and meddlesome politicians in the capital.

The Constitution of 1826 contained this article as to the legal status of the Church in Bolivia: "The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the religion of the Republic to the exclusion of all other public cults." Despite the fact that there have been a dozen different Constitutions, the privileged legal position of the Church was almost unquestioned until recent times. Not until 1871 was a limited tolerance allowed for non-Catholic public worship, on the frontiers, to encourage immigration; and only in 1905 was an amendment added which permitted universal public worship of non-Catholic cults. The latest Constitution (1938) provides for separation of Church and State.

But in Bolivia, as elsewhere throughout Latin America, the civil authorities claimed that the right of Patronage was inherent in the national sovereignty, and at times they have gone to absurd extremes in trying to force their will and whims upon the administration and institutions of the Church. Several attempts have been made to negotiate a Concordat with the Holy See, but the Bolivian Congress was always unwilling to admit a restricted patronage under the form of a privilege conceded by the Pope. However, there has been an exchange of diplomatic representatives, and in practice, the Pope selects the bishop-elect for Bolivian dioceses from a list of candidates presented by the government. These bishops have been not only worthy men, but veritable apostles in their most arduous and difficult missions.

Religious indifference among the ruling class was a greater obstacle to the Faith in Bolivia than ever an open anti-clericalism could be. Many earnest efforts to bring religion and civilization to the Indian regions were completely blocked by unsympathetic government authorities. But apostolic bishops of recent times have gradually, and at the cost of immense labor and sacrifices, improved the training of the clergy by establishing better seminaries for their dioceses, obtaining priests from abroad for professors. Perhaps the greatest problem is still the insufficient number of vocations, al-

though here, too, the prospect is brighter than ever before, due to the improved and increasingly numerous Catholic schools and colleges. Untold good has been accomplished for the Faith in Bolivia by zealous and apostolic priests, Brothers and Sisters from abroad, especially Spain, Italy and recently also from the United States, in the educational and missionary work of the Church. In the Indian regions several hundred rural schools have been opened and much work done for the improvement of the Indians' conditions, material and cultural as well as spiritual. In the cities, among the whites and mestizos, there is also a noticeable improvement in the practice of a serious and sincere Catholic life.

Bolivia has three Archbishops, five Bishops and five Apostolic Vicars. There is a Papal Nuncio resident at La Paz, and a Bolivian Ambassador at the Vatican.

6. PARAGUAY

From the date of independence in 1811 until 1870, Paraguay was ruled by three absolute and tyrranical dictators. The first, José Rodríguez de Francia (1813-1842), called himself "El Supremo", and he wielded supreme power over every person and institution of the country, and shut it off from the outside world so completely that Paraguay was known as the "hermit" of South America. Although the dictator had himself written into the Constitution of 1813 the provision that the Catholic religion was the sole religion of the country, he proceded to enforce a complete and personal control over it by interference and persecution, with the intention of making himself the head of a servile, national church. He prevented all communication with the Holy See, drove the bishop of Asunción insane, and then appointed an abject creature of his own as Vicar-General for the country. Although he professed to be a Catholic, "Doctor" Francia (he insisted upon being called this, due to a degree in theology he received from the University of Córdoba), was a complete and cynical infidel. He expelled all religious orders, confiscated all church property and commanded the clergy to marry.

The harm brought to the Church in Paraguay by Francia was hardly repaired by the second dictator, Carlos Antonio López (1841-1862), who scoffed at religion, although he tried to make it a valuable tool for his own political purposes. He had a new Constitution enacted in 1844 which repeated the exclusive position of the Catho-

lic religion in Paraguay and he added laws and sought to control the Church through the usual claim to national patronage.

López wished to resume relations with the Holy See, and to conclude a Concordat, but on his own terms. The Pope refused this, but as the country had been without any bishop, the dictator's candidate was appointed Bishop of Asunción; unfortunately, this was not an unmixed blessing, because the new bishop was the ruler's brother, well-meaning but entirely subject to the dictator's will. When Bishop López died in 1859, the Holy Father wished to appoint a non-Paraguayan, who would reform conditions according to the Pope's desires. However, as a lesser evil, the dictator's candidate was made Bishop, in spite of his advanced age and infirmities. The actual administration of the church was carried out by the new Auxiliary-Bishop Palacios, who was under the control of the Dictator's son, Franco Solano López.

The younger López succeeded his father as autocratic ruler of Paraguay in 1862 and continued until his violent death in 1870. He ruled the Church through his creature, Bishop Palacios, until the disastrous end of the insane war he had waged against Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, brought death to him and more than half the total population of the country, which found itself in ruin and chaos in 1870. The new Constitution retained the article declaring the Catholic religion to be that of the nation, and allowed religious tolerance for other religions. This was to attract foreign immigration, which was so badly needed, but most of the immigrants who came were already Catholics, Spanish or Italians or Argentines.

Paraguay has been the victim of more than a dozen revolutions, and also went thru the long and bloody war of the Chaco. Yet the Church has advanced, thanks to the establishment of new dioceses and the appointment of exemplary bishops. A new Seminary was founded, diplomatic relations entered into with the Holy See, Catholic schools and missions set up in various parts of the country, and numerous foreign clery have come to assist in the progress of the Church in Paraguay.

7. BRAZIL

According to the Imperial Constitution of 1824, under which Brazil was governed until the advent of the Republic in 1889, the Catholic religion was acknowledged as that of the Empire, but the

private exercise of other religions was allowed. In fact, the governments of both Pedro I (1822-1831) and Pedro II (1831-1889) were noted for their tolerance for non-Catholic sects. Public worship was legally permitted for non-Catholics in 1890, although it had actually been tolerated long before. The clergy and their prelates took an active part in the political as well as the religious and cultural life of Brazil under the Empire. But they were to a great extent imbued with European ideas of Liberalism, regalism and Gallicanism. Until expressly forbidden by the Pope, most of them belonged to the dominant Masonic lodges. The educated classes were also largely indifferent in the practice of their religion and followed the successive fads of European materialistic and positivist philosophy, with all the baneful results for the progress of the Church that this state of affairs entailed. Religion lacked vitality, the clergy became lax, vocations became fewer, and no great effort was made to extend the missions, so badly needed in the great territories of the interior.

A serious conflict arose in 1872 between the Church and the government of Pedro II over the prohibition of Catholic societies to admit as members persons who were Masons. It was only the application in Brazil of the universal laws of the Church. But since so many of the authorities, including the Emperor himself, were Masons, the effort of the Bishops of Pernambuco and Pará to enforce this in their dioceses brought on a storm of opposition, which went so far as even to sentence these heroic prelates to penal servitude. This act aroused the Catholic conscience of the nation, and those who were still true to their faith began to practice and defend it.

The Empire fell in 1889, and the anti-clerical Liberals decreed the separation of Church and State and the abolition of the patronage. The first republican constitution (1891) incorporated this and some anti-clerical laws, such as secularization of marriage, suppression of religious holidays, and civil control of cemeteries. But the most violent anti-clerical proposals were rejected.

Separation of the Church from the State in Brazil has actually resulted in its enjoying complete freedom, and Catholicism has progressed rapidly and surely in every way. Immigration has brought hundreds of thousands of foreign-born Catholics who have aided greatly in the extension of the work of the church, especially into the vast interior provinces. Newer and better seminaries have produced an exemplary and apostolic clergy, and the religious orders

of men and women have established excellent schools for every level of education. A Catholic University has recently been established at Rio. Great, new mission districts have been opened up and staffed, the dioceses have multiplied, and the fine work of the Church in Brazil was honored by the creation of a Cardinal at Rio de Janeiro (recently deceased). Catholic social action and the Catholic press have acquired a deserved and increasing influence.

In Brazil there are 17 Archbishops, 85 Bishops, and two Vicars Apostolic. There is a Papal Nuncio at Rio de Janeiro, and a Brazilian Ambassador at the Vatican.

8. VENEZUELA

Until 1830 all of the northern part of South America was joined together to form one Republic, called "Great Colombia". This union was the cherished ideal of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar. We have seen the concern and respect of Bolívar for the Church and her ministers, and after years of experience and disillusion his growing conviction that the Catholic Church should be recognized and fostered by the State. In 1830, Bolívar resigned his power to the Constituent Congress of Bogotá with these words of advice: "Permit me that as my last act I recommend that you protect the holy religion which we profess." However, those in power in Venezuela and Ecuador refused to accept the authority of the Congress of Bogotá and set up Congresses in their own regions. This brought the end of the ephemeral Republic of Great Colombia, which resolved into three republics, Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador.

The first of Venezuela's twenty-odd Constitutions omitted any reference to any State religion or to religious tolerance, but took care to claim all the rights of patronage as belonging to the national government. This claim has been, perhaps, the only consistent article contained in all her many attempts to draft a fundamental law for the country. Although the masses of the people remained Catholics, the ruling group was composed mostly of free-thinkers, Liberals and anti-clericals. Various laws were passed suppressing church-tithes, religious orders and confiscating their property and secularizing education, marriage, and cemeteries.

Years of civil war and turmoil followed, during which religious institutions, like all others, suffered greatly. Out of these wars emerged the tyrannical dictator, Antonio Guzmãn Blanco, Grand Master of

the Masons, who ruled for nearly twenty years (1870-1888). When the Archbishop of Caracas refused to sing the *Te Deum* to celebrate the dictator's political victory, the prelate and the papal nuncio were expelled from the country. Guzmãn Blanco openly determined to subject the Church to his authority or to destroy it. Prelates and priests were exiled, seminaries, colleges, schools, and religious houses were closed and all Church property confiscated. Catholics were subjected to every form of vexation and persecution. Free-Masons were appointed by the dictator to positions in the Church, and an abortive attempt was made to establish a "National" Church, with an Archbishop appointed by Congress and parish priests appointed by local groups, and seminarians to be trained in government institutions forced to forswear certain articles of Catholic Dogma that were distasteful to the dictator. Guzmãn Blanco became more conciliatory in the last year of his regime, in 1888 permitting Sisterhoods and priests of religious orders from abroad to enter Venezuela for educational and missionary work.

Under the long dictatorship of President Juan Vicente Gómez (1909-1935), the anti-clerical laws of the former ruler were not repealed, but neither were they drastically enforced, and the Church made some progress toward normality. However, despite some promising signs of Catholic activity in religious and social lines, the Catholic renaissance that is so evident in most other Latin American countries cannot be said to have gotten under way as yet in Venezuela.

There are two Archbishops, 8 Bishops and 3 Apostolic Vicars. There is a Papal Nuncio at Caracas, and a Venezuelan envoy at the Vatican.

9. COLOMBIA

During most of her history Colombia has been the victim of a rapid succession of ambitious politicians, contradictory constitutions, and dictators, each of whom autocratically enforced his own religious, social and political experimentation upon the prostrate country. Religious conflicts arose and injected disunity and caused civil strife, that has impeded real progress in the country, and prevented the Church from fully accomplishing her spiritual mission. Perhaps it was because Colombia was among the most Catholic of nations, that the enemies of the Church have centered most bitter attacks against the clergy and the educational and religious institutions of the Church

in Colombia. These attacks have sometimes been overcome by strong Catholic leadership, and even when the attacks were successful, they aroused a strong reaction on the part of the people that was to the eventual good of the Church.

The first constitution of the Republic of Colombia declared Catholicism to be the religion of the nation, the public exercise of no other faith permitted, and the exercise of patronage was assumed by the government. Archbishop Caicedo y Flórez, of Bogotá, presided over the provisional government and with two other prelates, formed part of the Cabinet of the first President, General Francisco de Paula Santander. The Church was unmolested under the Conservative regime which lasted until 1849. Colombia had the honor of being the first Spanish-American Republic to receive political recognition from the Holy See. This was accompanied by a complete restoration of the hierarchy in the country, and an exchange of dipomatic representatives. The Jesuits were invited to return and renew the educational and missionary activities from which they had been expelled in 1767.

The Church underwent a period of anti-clerical and bitter "liberal" persecution which lasted, with only short interruptions, from 1849 to 1880. Despite all guarantees, the Jesuits were given forty-eight hours to leave the country. An anti-Catholic program was imposed that was strongly influenced by European socialistic ideas of the mid-nineteenth century. The religious nature of matrimony was attacked. The tithes were abolished. Pastors of churches were to be appointed by the town councils and the courts were given supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. The State took away from the Church the right to educate its own priests by seizing the archdiocesan seminary. In 1853, Congress legislated complete separation of Church and State, the first legal document of this kind in Latin American history; Catholics opposed this separation, because it meant not independence for the Church but subjection to the State. Archbishop Mosquera led the clergy and faithful in an heroic defense of the faith, which brought upon him and other prelates and priests arrest and exile. The venerable prelate came to New York in 1852 and was called to Rome by Pius IX, who held him in a highest esteem. Archbishop Mosquera ranks among the outstanding prelates of Latin America, and Colombia lost in him a real patriot and leader.

In 1860 persecution of the Church was renewed under the leadership of General Tomãs Mosquera, who came into power by revolution and established himself as absolute dictator. His hatred of the Church and clergy was venomous. By decree he forbade any priest to exercise any religious function without his personal authorization. The property of the Church was confiscated and "sold" at ridiculous prices to a few friends of the regime. The dictator's avowed intention of creating a large number of small landowners by distribution of this Church property was cynically forgotten. All religious houses and institutions were suppressed. Despite the legal separation of Church and State, Mosquera claimed the right of intervening in even the spiritual affairs of the Church. The new Archbishop and fellow prelates suffered imprisonment and exile.

A new Constitution was adopted in 1863 in which the name of God was not mentioned, and in the words of an impartial historian, "religious liberty was guaranteed, but not for Catholics." After a final and intense effort to destroy the Church in Colombia, the wrath of the people overwhelmed him and Mosquera himself was forced into exile in 1867. Liberal control and its anti-clerical activities persisted until 1880.

President Rafael Núñez, although he had been a Socialistic radical in his younger days, had learned from experience that a sectarian anti-clericalism was destroying the nation. He interpreted the desires of the vast majority of the nation by releasing the Church from political subjection. A new Constitution of 1886 respected the Church as an essential factor of the national life, but declared that "the Catholic Church is not and shall not be official, and shall preserve its own independence." Religious education was restored and a Concordat was signed in 1887, which was declared by an eminent Colombian historian to be "a model of mutual relations between Church and State." Both the Constitution and the Concordat have been enforced until the present day.

Under this regime of true religious liberty the Church has been able to make great progress in religious, educational, and charitable work. Religious orders, especially Christian Brothers, Dominicans and Jesuits, have established schools, colleges and universities of high academic standards. The two Catholic Universities in Colombia, Universidad Javeriana at Bogotá and the Universidad Católica Bolivariana at Medellín, are outstanding in South America. Religious

orders and congregations have extended their mission fields along the coast and on the great plains and mountainous regions of the interior, accomplishing wonders for the religious and cultural standards of the Indians. The government has generously cooperated in these efforts.

However, there are continued efforts to seduce the masses from the Church; these anti-Catholic activities today are rather the work of materialistic and Communistic elements than the old "liberal" and deist groups. Nevertheless, the Church is alert and Catholic Action is organized and active, utilizing every modern method for the education and protection of the country's youth and laboring classes. There is a vigorous Catholic social consciousness that is thoroughly imbued with Catholic philosophy, having deeply spiritual motives.

There are four Archbishops, thirteen Bishops, four Vicars Apostolic and six Prefects Apostolic. There is a Papal Nuncio at Bogotá and a Colombian ambassador at the Vatican.

10. ECUADOR

Ecuador has suffered a stormy and strife-ridden existence. Religious conflicts, civil wars, foreign wars and economic exploitation have weakened the country, made it the victim of its more powerful neighbors, and of unscruplous politicians during most of its history. Fierce anti-clericalism and even atheistic hatred of the Church has often brought religious institutions to the point of ruin.

Although the first Constitution declared Catholicism to be the religion of the State to the exclusion of any other, President Rocafuerte attempted to secularize education and to introduce Protestantism into Ecuador, but unsuccessfully.

After years of civil strife and anarchy, order was restored when Gabriel García Moreno came into power in 1860. The fifteen years of his regime brought peace and prosperity to his country, and freedom and encouragement to the Church in her religious and social efforts for the restoration of the country. García Moreno stated his program thus: "The Church should always march side by side with the civil powers under conditions of real independence. . . . I wish complete liberty for the Church, and comprehensive reform of the secular and regular clergy." A Concordat was signed with the Holy See in 1862. Among the many progressive reforms of García Moreno,

none was so dear to him as the Christian education of Ecuadorean youth. A complete and universal school-system was established, and a great effort was made for the education of the Indian population.

A sincere and even ascetical Catholic, the President's dearest wish was fulfilled when his country was dedicated to the Sacred Heart, in 1875. No man in all Latin American history aroused such hatred on the part of the enemies of the Church, a hatred that has followed him even to the grave. Not only was he opposed by the anti-clericals of his own country, but those of foreign countries also plotted for his overthrow. The violently anti-Catholic President Mosquera of Colombia in 1863 invaded Ecuador "to liberate . . . Ecuador." The plots against him culminated in his assassination in 1875. Catholics throughout the world have considered García Moreno as a zealous champion of the Church and martyr to his faith. The noted Peruvian writer, Francisco García Calderón, summed up the character of García Moreno in these words: "Indefatigable, stoical, strong in decision, admirably logical in his life, García Moreno is one of the greatest individuals of American history. He was not a tyrant, like Guzmãn Blanco or Porfirio Díaz. For fifteen years, from 1859 to 1874, he completely transformed his little country in accord with a vast plan which only his death prevented from realization."

Deprived of the inspired leadership of García Moreno, Ecuador has suffered ever since, from revolutions, sectarian dictators, and anti-Catholic persecution, which have destroyed the religious and educational progress of the country. General Eloy Alfaro and President Plaza Gutiérrez distinguished themselves in their hatred of the Church. Conditions in the country have prevented the formation of an adequate and well-trained clergy. Legal restrictions purposely prevented the entrance of priests from abroad, and education has been subjected to state control in an effort to destroy the Faith of the people. The large Indian population was completely neglected but recent interest in the Indians has been based on anti-Catholic principles. The prospects for the Church in Ecuador are not bright, but here, as elsewhere in Latin America, the prayers and sufferings of the people will be answered by the freeing of the Church from political bondage.

There are one Archbishop, six Bishops, three Vicars Apostolic, and two Prefects Apostolic. A Papal Nuncio resides at Quito and Ecuador is represented by an envoy at the Vatican.

11. CENTRAL AMERICA

Panama was part of the Republic of Colombia until 1903 when she became independent. Since Independence the legal status of the Church in Panama has been similar to that of the United States. There is an Archbishop at Panama and a Vicar Apostolic at Darién.

The other countries of Central America declared their Independence in 1821 and in the same year all except El Salvador consented to annexation to Mexico. But when the Mexican Emperor Iturbide fell in 1823, the Central American countries formed a Federation and adopted a Constitution. Several anti-clerical laws were enacted. Francisco Morazán took control by revolution and began a drastic anti-clerical regime. The Archbishop at Guatemala and the religious —289 in number—were seized by armed forces and brutally shipped to Cuba. Church property was confiscated, anti-Catholic marriage, divorce and educational laws were enacted. So contrary was this persecution of the Church to the feelings of the people that Morazán was defeated in 1839 and the Federation of Central America dissolved and the following independent countries came into being: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

In most of these countries the Church has suffered intermittent periods of anti-clerical attack. When Catholics rallied to her defense conditions were eased but only temporarily, and new "liberal" successes brought on further restrictions and interferences in spiritual matters. General Rafael Carrera controlled the destinies of Guatemala from 1839 to 1865 and largely influenced the policies of the other Central American countries. He attempted to restore the traditional position of the Church in his country. The religious orders were re-established and the exiled friars returned to their parishes and Indian missions. The Jesuits returned to take up their educational work and a Concordat was signed in 1852. The Republic recognized the Catholic religion as the sole religion of the State, agreed to Catholic principles of education and morality, and in return the President was conceded the privilege of patronage. Carrera, throughout his regime, was a staunch supporter of his Faith. Anti-clerical Liberals invaded Guatemala from Mexico and seized control of the government in 1871. Immediately laws were passed against the Church. Religious orders were suppressed, the Jesuits, friars and prelates exiled and their property confiscated. Relations with the Papacy were broken off and were not reestablished until 1936. Presi-

dent Justo R. Barrios, by despotism and brutality, nearly accomplished the destruction of the institutions of the Church in Guatemala, but not the continuance of the Faith in the hearts of its people. Every possible anti-clerical law was incorporated into a Constitution adopted in 1879, which has been in force until recently. Conditions improved somewhat in 1884 through the signing of a new Concordat, which allowed free communications between the Holy See and the Bishops of Guatemala. Spiritual government was returned to the hierarchy and the seminary was allowed to reopen. In return the Pope gave up all claims to the Church property that had been confiscated. French Sisters of Charity have been allowed in the country by special treaty. However, in practice, the Church and its ministers and people still suffer from many disabilities. But there are many hopeful factors, such as the exemplary clergy, trained in the restored seminary, assisted by small numbers of zealous foreign clergy.

The situation of the Church in El Salvador has followed rather closely that of the Church in Guatemala. Pope Gregory XVI appointed the first Bishop of San Salvador in 1842, but he was forced into exile in 1847. The Concordat of 1862 followed the same lines as the one in force for Guatemala. Conditions improved until the Liberal Revolution of 1871. Since then the situation has been almost identical with that of Guatemala. However the anti-clerical laws of El Salvador gave the Church free title to buildings for religious purposes. In recent years the status of the Church has improved. The government has been friendly. San Salvador was made an Archdiocese in 1928. The people have come to a deeper and more practical realization of their duties as Catholics. There are two Bishops, suffragans of the Archbishop of San Salvador. A Papal Nuncio is resident at San Salvador, and there is a Salvadorean envoy at the Vatican.

Honduras also followed the lead of Guatemala in religious development. The administrations in power up to 1880 were generally friendly to the Church. A Concordat was concluded in 1861, identical with that of Guatemala. Anti-clerical laws were enacted in Honduras simultaneously with those of Guatemala and El Salvador. The anti-Catholic governments confiscated all Church property, prohibited religious education in the schools, secularized marriage and have interfered even in spiritual affairs. As a result of confiscation, the Church has no means to undertake social, educational and

missionary work that is so badly needed, even though it were not expressly prohibited by state laws. There are an Archbishop, one Bishop, one Vicar Apostolic, a Papal Nuncio resident at Tegucigalpa, and a Honduran envoy at the Vatican.

In Nicaragua the Church has enjoyed a much happier position. With the exception of anti-clerical incidents in 1881 and 1894, the Church has been able to carry on its work in peace. The government has adopted a policy of accepting the cooperation of the Church in solving the educational problems of the nation. The Constitution of 1911 states "the majority of the Nicaraguan people profess the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion. The State guarantees the free exercise of this cult; and also of all others so long as they do not oppose Christian morality and public order. The State is prohibited from issuing laws to protect or restrain particular cults." There are one Archbishop, three Bishops and a Vicar Apostolic. There is a Papal Nuncio for Nicaragua and a Nicaraguan envoy at the Vatican.

The small but prosperous and progressive Republic of Costa Rica has enjoyed peaceful and orderly government during most of its history. The people have been Catholics who have been able to enforce their will through wise governmental policies in the somewhat delicate matter of Church-State relations. The Church has prospered in Costa Rica which is acknowledged as the most progressive and democratic country of Latin America. Pope Pius IX created the independent diocese of San José, Costa Rica, conforming to the often expressed desires of the people. The people also requested the establishment of a Seminary and this was done in 1878. A Concordat was signed with the Papacy, and harmonious relations have prevailed ever since. The Church is respected and active in every field. An enlightened program of Catholic Social Action has been of great benefit to the country. One Archbishop, one Bishop and one Vicar Apostolic make up the hierarchy. There is a Papal Nuncio resident at San José, and a Costa Rican envoy at the Vatican.

12. THE CARIBBEAN AREA

It was to the islands of the Caribbean that Spanish missionaries brought the tidings of the Gospel to the natives of the Americas. Within a few years of the discovery, settlements and missions were established on the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba and Puerto Rico. The American episcopacy was founded by Pope Julius II in 1508

by the establishment of three Bishoprics for the island of Hispaniola. In 1697 France won control over the western part of Hispaniola and brought French language, customs and clergy to that part of the island. Large numbers of negro slaves were brought to work on the French plantations. These slaves were nominally Catholic, but lacked sufficient instruction in the Faith. The negroes revolted and forced the French to withdraw in 1803. An independent negro Republic was established by the talented and religious-minded patriot, Toussaint L'Overture. The first Constitution recognized Catholicism as the religion of the nation but claimed control of the Church by the exercise of the Patronage. Although there was no Bishop in Haiti, the prelates in Santo Domingo came under Haitian rule through the annexation of 1822. This situation continued until the eastern (Spanish) part of the island regained its independence in 1844 as the Dominican Republic. The Church, like the people, suffered under the tyrannical and bloodthirsty rulers of Haiti. The Papacy made every effort to re-establish relations with the government of Haiti. Bishop John England of Charleston, North Carolina, made two attempts, in 1834 and 1836, and Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis, Missouri, made another attempt in 1842. However, a Concordat was not signed until 1860. Since then an Archdiocese and four dioceses were established and French priests, brothers and nuns came to work in the churches and charitable and educational institutions. Religious conditions were in a deplorable condition. A Seminary was founded in Port-au-Prince for the training of Haitian priests, but still the great majority of the clergy are of French extraction. The French Brothers of Christian Instruction have done exceptionally good work in teaching, aided by Haitian laymen. Christian education has been found to be the antidote for the former superstitious practices (voodoo) that had been fostered through generations of neglect and ignorance. The modern problems caused by economic exploitation and industrialization are being met by Catholic organizations for agricultural training and Catholic Social Action in the cities. There are one Archbishop and four Bishops, and a Papal Nuncio.

13. THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Catholic Religion has been acknowledged as the religion of the State since Independence was won from Haiti. The Pope

restored the ancient metropolitan see of Santo Domingo in 1848. There have been no important conflicts between the Church and the governments of the Republic. A priest was elected as President of the country in 1880, Padre Fernando Arturo de Meriño, of whose rule Sumner Welles declares: "No more vigorous rule, no more decisive sway, had ever previously been exercised by any Dominican president." After retiring from the Presidency, Padre Meriño accomplished great good for his nation and Church as Archbishop of Santo Domingo. The Congress of the Dominican Republic elected Archbishop Nouel as Provisional President, who succeeded in smoothing the relations with the United States. In spite of complete religious toleration, Protestantism is negligible. The Seminary receives a government subsidy and has trained the clergy of the country. There are only a few foreign clergy. The Salesian Fathers have accomplished much good by their Trade School and Agricultural College. A National Eucharistic Congress was held in 1939, at which tens of thousands received Holy Communion. A beginning has been made in the organization of Catholic Action, and it is hoped that through these activities, the masses of the people will be won away from religious indifference to a sincere and practical realization of their faith.

All of the Dominican Republic is comprised of the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo.

14. CUBA

Cuba achieved independence as a result of the Spanish-American War. Until then the Church in Cuba had been controlled by Spanish prelates and most of the clergy had been born and trained in Spain. During periods of anti-clerical governments in the mother-country the Church in Cuba had likewise suffered, as for example, from the expulsion of the religious orders and the confiscation of their property in 1837-1841. This was compensated by a subsidy, according to the Concordat in 1861.

The first United States Military Governor assumed authority on January 1, 1899, and the Church authorities objected, though unsuccessfully, to one of his decrees which made civil marriage the only legal ceremony. General Leonard Wood settled all the outstanding problems regarding the Church in an eminently fair manner, and he did this in spite of the opposition of a small but vociferous

anti-clerical minority. General Wood decided that the claims of the Church to the property that had been confiscated were just and reasonable, and a satisfactory agreement was reached. In general, the Church enjoys the same freedom of action as in the United States. The religious question has henceforth never come up for political discussion.

Catholic schools, colleges, hospitals and charitable institutions are numerous and of high standards. Catholic Action groups have been organized, and the Catholic Youth movement is strong. With these modern weapons the Church is striving to overcome the danger that the contemporary social and economic problems, which are very pressing in Cuba, be solved in a Christian way and on Catholic principles.

The Cuban hierarchy is composed of two Archbishops and four Bishops, and an Apostolic Delegate is resident at Habana.

15. MEXICO

A study of the history of the Church in Mexico since Independence forces one to the conclusion that truly, the Catholic Church must be of divine origin and guidance. In no other way can the fact be explained that the Church survives and not only survives, but flourishes today despite hampering laws and restrictions. Mexican history has been a succession of national crises. Nearly all its leaders have been imbued with intense philosophical and economic liberalism, and this, often accompanied by a bitter hatred of religion, has served as a basis for their attempts to make over-night their predominantly Indian and agricultural country into a modern and industrial society. This has led them into incredible errors of contradiction and chaos, and the Church and the nation have suffered the effects.

Catholics had the greatest share in the achievement of Mexican Independence in 1820, and yet the Masonic and Liberal elements immediately set to work for the enactment of anti-clerical laws. The conservative and monarchical Iturbide was overthrown and the long struggles for power began between the "Liberals" and the "Conservatives", and these were often embittered by religious controversy. The first strong attack against the Church came in 1833, and again in 1847. But in 1854, the so-called Plan of Ayutla began the most violent attempt to utterly destroy the Church in Mexico. The consequent Constitution of 1857 really was intended to legislate the

Catholic religion out of the country. Juárez, Campo and Lerdo led the forces against religion. Civil War ensued, and the French intervention followed. The brief reign of the ill-fated Maximilian was only an interlude, for from 1874 until the present, separation of Church and State has been complete, and this has nearly always been interpreted as meaning separation of the Church from the people as well as from their government. The long, orderly and conservative Díaz regime did not abrogate anti-Catholic laws, but merely overlooked their enforcement. After 1910 there followed what has generally been called "The Mexican Revolution". Carranza added to the already long list of injuries to the Church. Terrorism and violence marked the years from 1913 to 1917, during which the Church was persecuted as bitterly as ever in its long history. The Constitution of 1917 was the finished product of legislation that its framers were satisfied would seal up the tomb of the Church in Mexico.

But somehow, the Church still lived on, and the regime of President Plutarco Elías Calles set out to deliver the *coup-de-grace.* The Church from 1926 to 1929 was made the object of vicious attacks, that made the old-time "Liberals" seem almost angelic in comparison. Native priests were forbidden the exercise of even the most elementary spiritual functions, foreign priests were expelled, and bishops were forced to leave the country. Religious services were suspended in the summer of 1926 throughout Mexico as the final and desperate measure of defense of the Church by the Mexican hierarchy. All the while, the Mexican government hypocritically claimed that there was no such thing as persecution of the Church, but only acts of rebellion by the clergy.

A slight mitigation occured in 1929, when a *modus vivendi* was reached, which acknowledged the right of the bishops to designate the priests whom the State would allow to serve in the churches. But in 1931, individual states made extreme and even absurd restrictions as to the number of priests allowed to function. Tabasco decreed that no priests at all were allowed in that state. Its Governor, Garrido Canabal, notorious for his violent atheism, logically concluded that with no priests there could be no religion. The Archbishop of Mexico, Ruiz y Flores, was deported in October, 1932. Catholics in the United States expressed their sympathy and offered

what aid they could, but their protests against the Mexican Government's persecution of the Church were rather ineffectual.

Under President Cárdenas, no anti-Catholic laws were repealed, but they were not enforced with complete severity, and the churches were again thronged with the essentially Catholic and religious people of Mexico. The religious struggle has been less acute since 1937, and the actual President, Avila Camacho, went so far as to publicly state that he was a "creyente"—i.e., one who believed in God. During late years the resurgence of the faith has been remarkable. Long years of persecution seem to have developed a deeply spiritual and at the same time an eminently practical religious practice among Mexicans, in the cities as well as in the country districts, among men as well as women, and in all walks of life and all social classes. The many churches are crowded, and the Sacraments are frequented. A recent pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe brought an estimated 200,000 working-men to this manifestation of their faith. And all during this anniversary year hundreds of thousands of the faithful from all parts of Mexico are coming on this pilgrimage of prayer and faith.

There is a corresponding intellectual revival among Catholics which bids fair to make an important contribution by laying a solid foundation of Catholic principles in the various activities of the nation and in training an inspired Catholic leadership for the future. Schools, colleges and seminaries are beginning to flourish as never before in Mexico. Only the lack of a sufficient trained staff of priests, Brothers and Sisters limits the extension of this work. The Catholic press is active and publishes numerous editions of religious and scholarly and practical works in every field, as well as a number of distinguished periodicals. Catholic Action, with its many affiliated organizations, is progressing rapidly and is one of the main forces that are strengthening and unifying the Church in Mexico. It has already accomplished great things in the application of Catholic principles to modern social problems. The greatest problem is to prepare a sufficient number of priests, Brothers and Sisters, who with the aid of trained lay-people can staff and extend the already existing religious and cultural institutions. After a century and more of violence there is so much to be done. Perhaps the greatest need of the Church is time, time to recuperate and to organize the immense

spiritual potentialities that by God's grace have come forth from such long sufferings.

The Mexican hierarchy is composed of eight Archbishops, twenty-five Bishops and one Vicar Apostolic.

III

CONCLUSION

This brief sketch of the vicissitudes which the Catholic Church has undergone during the history of the Latin American countries since their Independence has only touched upon the outstanding facts and has attempted a simple narration of events and problems and conflicts which actually are most intricate and complicated. But despite every mistake and failing of the Catholic clergy and their flocks, and despite the attacks made against the church, whether by open violence or even more dangerous and insidious attempts of materialistic or atheistic ideas, we have found that nearly everywhere in Latin America today there is renewed activity and renewed hope for the future.

In the words of an excellent Catholic scholar and writer, who has seen and known Latin America:

> The miracle is that, in spite of the problems of almost insoluble magnitude which have beset the Church at every step, the Faith has been kept. Catholicism has permeated deeply in the mind and soul of the people. Negligence, hostility, abandonment, and misery have not sufficed to erase this impression nor eliminate the profound Catholic faith which is to be found everywhere. The miracle of the Virgin of Guadalupe is repeated throughout the length and breadth of Latin America.

(From the article entitled: "The Church in Latin America," by Richard Pattee, in THE SIGN, April, 1944, page 531.)

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Study Outline

THE CHURCH IN HISPANIC AMERICA FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

1. Why had the Catholic Church emerged from the long period of the Wars for Independence everywhere in a strong position? Why had some few of the higher Spanish clergy opposed Independence?
2. After the wars, what internal conditions caused seminaries to fail, no new priests to be ordained and the great mission system of former times to languish or to be completely abandoned?
3. What extremely delicate problem did the Papacy face with regard to the restoration of the Latin American Hierarchy?
4. What benefits arose from the Pio-Latino Seminary at Rome and from the Plenary Council of the Latin American hierarchy at Rome in 1899?

DEVELOPMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1. *Argentina*

   When Juan Manuel Rosas was overthrown by Urquiza in 1852, the government was completely reorganized. What guarantees did the new Constitution give the Roman Catholic Church?

2. *Uruguay*

   Briefly explain the efforts of the various anti-clerical governments to dominate the Church until the new Constitution of 1919 which gives the Church about the same freedom of action as is enjoyed in the United States.

3. *Chile*

   The Constitution stated that the religion of Chile was Roman Catholic and prohibited the public exercise of any other. In fact, however, religious toleration was the practice and Protestant schools were also permitted. How do you explain this?

4. *Peru*

Explain how the Church has enjoyed unmolested right of possession and administration of property in Peru; why Catholic schools are government supported and how the laws of the Church concerning marriage have been made a part of civil law.

What influence has the Catholic University of Peru (established in 1919) had on the entire life and culture of the people?

5. *Bolivia*

Show how the meddling of government officials in purely ecclesiastical affairs has been the cause of chaos in the religious, moral and cultural progress of Bolivia.

6. *Paraguay*

Point out how the three absolute and tyrannical dictators (Jose Rodriguez de Francia, Carlos Antonio Lopez, and his son Franco Solano Lopez) wrought havoc upon the Church in Paraguay.

7. *Brazil*

In Brazil why was it that religion lacked vitality, the clergy were lax, and no great effort was made to extend the missions?

What was the serious conflict in 1872 between the Church and the government of Pedro II?

What has been the benefit to religion of the separation of the Church from the State in Brazil?

8. *Venezuela*

Why hasn't the Catholic renaissance, that is so evident in most other Latin American countries, gotten under way as yet in Venezuela?

9. *Colombia*

What elements in Colombia today are still continuing their efforts to seduce the masses from Catholicism?

10. *Ecuador*

Briefly show how fierce anti-clericalism and atheistic hatred have brought religious institutions almost to the point of ruin.

11. *Central America*

In most of these countries the Church has suffered intermittent periods of anti-clerical attack. Show how the Concordats signed with the Papacy have caused harmonious relations to prevail.

12. *The Caribbean Area*

Point out how the modern problems, caused by economic exploitation and industrialization in this area, are being met by Catholic Social Action.

13. *The Dominican Republic*

Give one reason why there have been no important conflicts between the Church and the governments of this Republic.

14. *Cuba*

What influence did General Leonard Wood have in settling problems regarding the government and the Church?

What freedom does the Church enjoy today?

15. *Mexico*

Briefly outline the attempts on the part of Mexican political leaders to stamp out the Catholic Church. Why can it truly be said that the study of the history of the Church in Mexico since Independence forces one to the conclusion that truly the Catholic Church must be of divine origin and guidance?

FACING THE FACTS

Yesterday we were children in the faith. When many of us were only boys in school, we can look back and we can say to ourselves, and very honestly, that there were very few American priests. The priests of our childhood days were German priests, were Irish priests, were Polish or Italian or French or one nationality or another. But, gentlemen, they came from Europe to the foreign missions that then were America, and out of the zeal of their efforts was born the fruitful priesthood that makes us so proud of our Church here in America today.

Today Europe is beaten, prostrated by war. There are seventeen thousand priests in France who are serving in the army and only by a miracle of a grace will a fraction of them ever find themselves in the ministry of Christ again. Fifty-five hundred priests were killed in the Spanish war. The potentialities for the future of the priesthood of Germany have been throttled by the closing of the seminaries.

What lies before the American priesthood save only the challenge that the world must be rehabilitated to God? Only America, by a divine command, must hold in her hand the destiny of our Church, not only for today but for generations that are yet unborn.

We have a fearful responsibility but we have also a grand and glorious privilege that in this, our day, there should be laid upon our shoulders, the shoulders of the children of yesterday, grown to the stalwart men of today, the great responsibility of our Holy Church for tomorrow.

(From DISCUSSIONS ON VOCATIONS under the auspices of THE MISSIONARY UNION OF THE CLERGY. Remarks made by Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Boardman, National Treasurer of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.)